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Cleared Up

Dispute as to the meaning of Article I of the four-power Pacific treaty promises to be ended by an exchange of notes between the United States and Japan. The natural interpretation, adopted by President Harding, is to replace the forced interpretation which was agreed upon by the drafters of the treaty, but which was not avowed and expounded, as it should have been, by Mr. Lodge in his presentation speech.

Japan, it seems, was not insistent on having the empire homeland included among the Japanese "insular possessions and insular dominions" in the Pacific with which Article I deals. The Japanese delegates thought that Japan should stand in this respect on an equal footing with the three other signatories. Pressure for the contrary interpretation didn't come from them. Japanese sentiment has recently turned strongly against any differentiation of Japan's position from the position of the other principals to the treaty. And since American opinion is equally against it, no obstruction exists to a declaration of understanding to accompany the treaty when it is submitted to the Senate.

Article I was clumsily drawn. But a common sense reading of it does exclude Japan's homeland. Though the drafters held the other view, they didn't express it convincingly. It is not a matter of great importance in the international sense whether all Japan is embraced by the article or only Japan's subsidiary possessions and dominions. From the point of view of domestic politics, however, here and in Japan it is a matter of considerable importance. The narrower interpretation pleases both nations. It is well, therefore, to give it indisputable sanction through an addendum to the treaty.

Debs's Home Coming

It will not be said that Terre Haute, Ind., his home town, failed to give Eugene V. Debs a warm welcome on his return from prison. Nor will it be charged that the "capitalist" press, which prominently displayed accounts of the demonstration on front pages, has endeavored to minimize the news.

What does it mean that Terre Haute, an average American town, turned out practically the whole of its population to greet the veteran Socialist? Does it imply acceptance of his views or even condemnation of his imprisonment? Happily not. Terre Haute is the principal town of Vigo County, and in last year's election Vigo County voted 18,668 for Harding and 15,737 for Cox—a total of 34,407 for the candidates of the two major parties—but but 1,498 for Debs, then in prison and for whom support on the score of local sympathy was loudly asked. In 1916, four years before, Benson, the Socialist Presidential candidate, received 1,677 votes in Vigo County. Yet with substantially a doubling of the electorate through the enfranchisement of women, the Socialist vote actually decreased.

As has been commonly remarked, Americans tend to be sentimental and tolerant. They have an aversion to seeing any one in jail and are often not controlled by strict logic. His neighbors have seen in Gene Debs not so much a dangerous agitator as a kindly, even though a foolish, old man. To them his ideas are silly, and they see it wouldn't do for each of us to choose the laws he will obey. Nevertheless, in a human way, they are willing to ignore and condone misconduct when a man's life is clean and has an atmosphere of personal sincerity about it. Moreover, it is remembered, to the credit of Debs, that on his trial he did not try to sneak out of responsibility, but took his medicine.

Since his release Debs, a roaring sentimentalist if ever there was one, has had much to say about love—about his desire to put his arms around every one. May he not be somewhat indulging in gush? Will he

exert his influence among Socialists to get hate out of socialism? Great is the need of a cleansing. Professional socialism has become a creed of rancor and bitterness, of envy and dogmatic narrowness. If Debs can introduce a different spirit into his party he will justify his pardon, for no one would have any element of the population dwarfed in soul by the poison of chronic malevolence.

Real Submarine Limitation

Submarine limitation not being obtainable in the way first proposed, Mr. Hughes and the American delegation, refusing to be discouraged, have promptly submitted another proposal—the second in many respects promising more than the first.

Not only is a more specific definition of international law provided for in the Root resolutions, but there are the highly important additions that it shall be piracy for a submarine to disregard international law and that it shall be no defense to plead that an illegal sinking was authorized by a home government. This means that unless there is due visit and search and unless the crews and passengers of merchant vessels are placed in safety those who man submarines need to fear the gallows.

The firm enforcement of these rules would end the general use of submarines as commerce destroyers. Only in exceptional cases could a submarine attack a merchant vessel. For special purposes, particularly those relating to defense, submarines may continue to be built, but as commerce destroyers their teeth would be drawn. The undersea rover, with a radius of thousands of miles, would be practically out of business.

But would international law if thus defined be respected? Many are skeptical as to this. But once the rule were explicitly established that a submarine which attacks without warning is piratical and that its crew may be treated as pirates, then danger would be diminished. Many influences will conspire to induce nations, even those without scruples or morals, to be careful. If the Root resolutions had been definitely and clearly international law in 1915 the Lusitania slaughter would scarcely have occurred. Germany's pleas were not convincing, but she was at least able to confuse our then government.

As a war vessel a submarine is no more terrible than is a battleship or a battle plane. It is capable of performing valuable defensive and scouting work. It is against its use as a commerce destroyer that the world rages, for if used as a commerce destroyer it is almost necessarily barbarous. One way of preventing its use as a commerce destroyer was to limit its size, thus preventing long cruises. The other way is the method of the Root resolutions—by new penalties for illegal practices.

What objection can any country, especially any of the countries whose delegates are assembled at Washington, make to writing the Root resolutions into international law? All have loudly cried out against submarine piracy. They have said that their submarines, if built, were to be merely defensive war weapons. How can they now, by significantly reserving the right to use them as commerce destroyers, nullify their professions? To consult home governments concerning an important addition to international law is proper enough, but what reason can the home governments put forward as a basis for non-consent?

And what excuse can the small nations uncover to justify a refusal to adhere? Even though these small nations do not expect to be belligerents, they will be belligerents and interested as such in the maximum of sea freedom. Not even Germany or Russia would dare stay out and thus confess to a malevolent intent. World opinion has sufficient potency to make conditions highly uncomfortable for any nation that insists on the right to sink on sight and without leaving a trace.

The American delegation, repulsed on one flank, is to be congratulated on its prompt bringing of even heavier guns to bear on the other flank.

Arguing With the Cyclone

Ex-Representative Cordell Hull, the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was defeated last year in the 4th Tennessee Congress District. For the first time in its history that district elected a Republican. Mr. Hull addressed the Tennessee Democratic State Committee the other night, breaking a silence, the dispatches say, which has lasted since the 1920 election.

Governor Cox's intimate friend, ex-Representative White, was removed from the chairmanship of the national committee on the ground that he had become politically somewhat quiescent and listless. Mr. White had a pretty close view of the forces and resentments which swept the Democratic party out of power. He had lost a good deal of confidence in the party's record and drawing power. Mr. Hull seems to be trying to make it clear that his own confidence is undiminished. This is to be gathered from his remarks that last year's catastrophe was brought about by "criminal malignity and reckless falsehood"; that detraction cannot "dim the glory of the eight years' unparalleled achievement of the rational Democracy," and that "the

Democratic party is the only political organization which to-day offers a comprehensive, up-to-date national program of policies and principles."

What this program is nobody knows. It hasn't developed yet in Congress, where the minority is even weaker in leadership than the majority. The chief work of Congress has been in the line of reducing government expenditure and discharging the enormous liabilities coming down from the Wilson Administration. The unparalleled achievement of the eight years of Democratic tenure was the mess it left behind in foreign relations, in shipping, in railroad administration, in the treatment of disabled soldiers and in the government services generally. Until this is cleared up other programs are necessarily pushed into the background. The Harding Administration is rapidly cleaning it up. Mr. Hull is unwilling to recognize this fundamental fact. He prefers to go on quarreling with the cyclone which struck him.

Labor's Opportunity

Labor long has been recognized as a co-equal with capital in the dispatch of commerce and the conduct of industry. Its right to organize and to bargain collectively for wages is fully established. Organization has given it dignity and power. No longer can it be exploited by the unscrupulous or oppressed by what some of its leaders are fond of calling predatory wealth.

All the more reason, therefore, why labor should accept the responsibility which comes with its new estate. To ask that it be left free to unite without assuming accountability for the great force it exerts is to ask for special privilege. Special privilege cannot safely be granted.

Labor's opportunity lies in taking a wise, a broad-minded and a foresighted view of its future. Only dull labor leaders will counsel resistance, for example, to a law providing that labor unions incorporate, and to the extent of responsibility at least accept state regulation.

No aggregation of capital, no matter for what purpose it is brought together, is permitted to organize and do business without incorporation under state laws. The very fact that capital is power makes necessary its regulation. Incorporation fixes responsibility. It makes capital accountable for the use of its power.

Labor, like capital, is power. It is of the same economic importance. It is as much a factor in development. Yet, at present, it is as irresponsible as it was in the days of wage slavery.

The proposal that it incorporate is not intended to destroy the labor unions. It is not an attack on the closed shop. It is merely the recognition of labor as one of the great constructive forces. The labor leaders who are big enough to see that this is the case and who help to give labor its due dignity by teaching it to accept the full responsibility belonging to it will do labor a greater service than all the agitators who have ever spoken in its name.

Rationing Education

It is difficult to imagine a more foolish policy than that of denying the library the money it has asked for expenses during the current year. The library is the one place where men and women seeking to better themselves can go with the certainty that they will get the help they are looking for.

Its affairs have always been administered economically—far too economically, as a matter of truth. The records show that the attendance is steadily growing. It ought to continue to grow. In fact, the city would profit greatly by spending large sums on publicity in order to acquaint the citizens with the opportunity that the library offers. Instead it has cut the annual appropriation from \$100,000 to \$60,000, taking this action in reply to a request from the library authorities for \$150,000.

The allowance will not begin to pay for new books that are needed. It will barely suffice to cover the expenses of rebinding old books and restoring them to circulation.

Because of insufficient and badly equipped schools the city is already woefully deficient in the matter of education. By denying the library a sum that is pitifully small compared to the good it would do it goes still further in the policy of rationing education.

A Hero of Science

Another reminder of the heroism of peace, equalling that of war, is provided by the story of Dr. Howard B. Cross, of the Rockefeller Institute, who died the other day at Vera Cruz of yellow fever. He deliberately abjured safety, to visit a notorious plague spot to study one of the most deadly of diseases, hoping to discover more efficient means of checking its ravages. He did a hero's work, and died a hero's death. He was a worthy follower of Jesse Lazear, who, to prove the method of transmission of that disease, subjected himself to infection, and through whose death the lives of thousands have since been saved and Cuba, Panama and Ecuador have been cleansed.

Pasteur, the Frenchman, was the

first great discoverer and pioneer in the new era of medical science; Finlay, the Anglo-Cuban, first applied Pasteur's theory to yellow fever, and Noguchi, the Japanese, completed the demonstration. But it was the Americans, Reed, Carroll, Lazear and their unnamed followers of the rank and file, who at the risk of the lives of all and at the cost of the life of one proved in their own bodies the truth of the great principle and blazed the way to the abolition of the plague; it was the American, Gorgas, who actually eliminated the disease from three of the lands which for generations past it had most ravaged, and it was Americans such as Dr. Cross and Dr. Haedrick, who died a few months ago, who extended the same beneficent work in the only remaining country of this hemisphere in which the disease seriously prevails.

Great is science! Its saints and martyrs almost equal in devotion and in number those of religion.

The Old Home

From One Who "Worked on The Tribune" in 1873

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The picture of the old Tribune Building printed in your issue of December 25 should bear an earlier date than 1875. In November, 1873, I worked for a brief time on The Tribune, and the red signboard had been taken down and a new building was under construction. The new building was being put up on the old site without interruption to the publication of the paper, which was quite a feat in those days.

Horace Greeley had been dead then not quite a year and there was a tablet on the walls.

"In peace after so much turmoil, in honor after so much obloquy," or something to that effect. I have not seen it since and have wondered what became of this tablet.

The typography of the paper, with its wide columns, solid matter and modest headlines; the editors and the oldtime printers, several of them archaic specimens then of a long since vanished tribe; the venerable old Foreman Rucker, with flaring high collar and features of a classic mold, and his veritable Scrooge of an assistant—all these things made an indelible impression on my boyish mind, fresh as I then was from a country printing office in the town since made famous by William Allen White's "Emporia Gazette."

I wish you much prosperity in your new location, but I can believe that when going you will want to "cast one longing, lingering look behind."

ALBERT PHENIX.

Baltimore, Md., Dec. 26, 1921.

Fifth Avenue Traffic Control

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: If the admirers of Dr. Harris want to erect a monument to him, it is natural they should think of Fifth Avenue, but the monument could better be put in Central Park, where it would not interfere with traffic so much.

The new traffic towers on which the city is to spend so much are, in a way, a monument to good Dr. Harris, who, we admit, deserves recognition for having created the Fifth Avenue light system. But the placing of the new towers permanently in the center of the roadway virtually offsets what was gained some time back in widening the avenue.

The lights could be seen just as well if they were suspended over the roadway from a tower at the curb. Or, better still, the colored globes could be placed at each corner on the lamp-posts already there; they would be visible down each cross street, and all the lights could be operated on the one wire and switch.

In the old days when the semaphores first came into use, with their "stop" and "go" signs, the policemen used to roll them aside when the tide of traffic was in one direction, e. g., down town, and thus gave room for four or five lines down town and two up. The permanent towers prevent any such intelligent shifting and make the roadway one line narrower.

R. P. McCORMACK.

New York, Dec. 28, 1921.

Bryn Mawr Girls Who Married

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Apropos of college girls and marriage, I was rather impressed the other day by certain statistics that came to my attention.

In my daughter's class of '05 at Bryn Mawr was a little group of fourteen girls who were intimates.

Throughout the course all of them were more or less active in the sports and amusements as well as in the intellectual work of the college. The honor roll at graduation (the first ten) included at least four of their names.

All fourteen of these young women have married, although some of them waited for several years after graduation. The marriages have all been happy. Thirteen out of the fourteen have children, varying from one to five each—in all, forty children in the thirteen families.

I. P.

New York, Dec. 27, 1921.

Leniency to Criminals

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The combination of the modern idea that a criminal is a "sick" man and should be treated as such, together with the indeterminate sentence, the action of sentimental parole boards and the misuse of the power to pardon, has rendered the administration of criminal law in this country a farce.

The indeterminate sentence should be done away with and the parole boards should be legislated out of existence. Why appoint a board to interfere with the verdicts of juries and the judgments of courts?

If there is any commutation necessary let it be done by the joint action of the trial judge and the prosecuting attorney.

L. R.

New York, Dec. 28, 1921.

The Tower

On the New Year of 18 B. C.

AD POSTUMUM

Horace: Book II, Ode 14

"Eheu! fugaces, Postume, Postume!" O Postumus, my Postumus, the New Year's bells have tolled, And silver threads, if any, find themselves among the gold; And nothing you can do or say, be it jocular or solemn, Can keep your name forever from the obituary column.

Why, if you gave a hospital and twenty schools away, You couldn't put the Reaper off the fraction of a day. For everything a man can get and everything he has He has to leave behind him when he gets the Final Razz.

Some morning when you say goodbye, as usual, to your wife, Unmindful that she never more will see you in the life, A motor car will hit you . . . and some finer, better feller Will spill upon your marble floors the hootch that's in your cellar.

"The hand struck up 'Hail! Hail! the Gang's All Here!'" said the Debauched story from Terre Haute. Why not "Marching From Georgia?"

A Perfect Woman, Nobly Planned F. P. A.: You suggested recently as a title for an essay "I simply don't get time to read a paper." May I inquire what your candid opinion is of a Stenog who finds time to read nothing else but The Tower?

Peggy.

And then of a sudden the spirit and the understanding of the business came to him [Arthur Brisbane] and he blazed out into a brilliancy of written words and a comprehension of what to write and how to write it that made his associates gasp in admiration; and he went on to supreme success.—Chester S. Lord in The Satepost.

Doesn't Mr. Lord mean "success"?

Vicious, or Painless, Dentistry [From the Bradford (Vt.) United Opinion] Mrs. Elmer Still was in Bradford one day last week, having dental work done for her daughter Ruby.

The Contris' Dinner, we have been requested by Adelaide to announce, will be held February 21, 1922, at the Hotel Majestic. At this barbecue the watch awarded for 1921's best Tower contribution will be given to Mr. J. M. Kerrigan. Only bona fide contris who send, as far in advance as possible, \$4.50 to Miss Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College, New York, are eligible. And don't bother us; bother her.

"Your Contris," writes Mr. F. P. Pitzer.

"Should be careful how they praise Traffic Bluecoats in their lays For you know (excuse the quip) There's Many a Slip Twixt the Cop and the Lip."

Peroxide of hydrogen will also remove ink stains. Wet with the peroxide and lay in the sun till they disappear. "Sparks from Housewife's Anvil." Gosh, we love to lay in the sun anyway.

THE SUBWAY TALKERS

"Say, I met Marg'ret's brother yesterday."

"Yeh? He's nice looking, isn't he?"

"Yeh. He's a policeman, y'know."

"A policeman? Naw, he can't be a policeman. He isn't twenty-one years old yet."

"Well, what's that got to do with him bein' a policeman?"

"Well, y'can't be a policeman till y're twenty-one."

"Is that so? Y'can't be a policeman till y're twenty-one?"

"Nope, not till y're twenty-one. An' Marg'ret told me he was just twenty years old."

"Yeh! Well, I thought some one told me he was a policeman."

"Well, you must be wrong, because y'can't be a policeman till y're twenty-one years old and he's only twenty."

"Say, I never knew that. Ye sure of that?"

"Yeh, that's right, what I'm telling ye. Y'can't be a policeman till y're twenty-one."

MYRRIL.

F. P. A. quotes Mr. Daugherty's assertion that Mr. Debs is pursuing a theory erroneous in principle and wants to know whether Mr. Daugherty has the right to assert that it is erroneous.

If F. P. A. cares to leave it to us—and much is left to us in these latter days—we think Mr. Daugherty has a perfect right to make such assertion. If a theory is not sufficiently attractive, plausible or convincing to secure for itself a trial—if, in addition, it is considered hokum by nearly every practical-minded, level-headed, straight-thinking individual in the world—the probabilities are that it is erroneous in principle.—Jay E. House in The Philadelphia Ledger.

Which excuses the question—the same question as that of Mr. Daugherty's or Mr. Debs's right to say that a theory is or isn't erroneous—as to what the definitions are of "practical-minded, level-headed, straight-thinking." A lot of straight-thinkers differ vitally on the definition of straight-thinking.

Safety First

F. P. A.: Our four-year-old girl received an invitation to a Red Riding Hood party. Before she accepted our child asked, "Did they invite the wolf?"

MRS. TACKS.

Badly Shot and Cut in Game of Cards—Last night's Sun headline. Bullets and Jacks.

Physical circumstances . . . cause the Tartars to delight in a diet of milk. —From "The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," by John William Draper.

As we always suspected, they export the cream.

F. P. A.

LET'S SEE NOW, WHAT'LL WE DO WITH THAT TWO HUNDRED MILLION?

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Does Wilson Know It?

Uninformed of Tumulty Book, Mr. Brown Reiterates

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I was astonished, on picking up my Tribune this morning, to discover that you had written an editorial about my modest communication to you of recent date. Since you have thus honored me, I think I shall have to tell you a story.

Some days ago, after much exercise of will power, I broke away from the office for an afternoon's Christmas shopping. My object was Christmas cards; and I did not expect that it would take me very long to gather an assortment of original, amusing and entertaining cards which it would be really fun to send out. However, I visited one large bookstore after another and was unable to discover any design which did not seem to me to have lain on these counters ever since I could remember. In despair, I began to buy the first thing that came to hand. Then at last I chanced to enter a certain store and there found—laid out in an enticing array—the most original, bright, cheery and actually beautiful Christmas cards which I could well conceive, at about half the price of those which I had bought.

Elated at this treasure trove, I decided that half my Christmas problem was solved, not only for this year but for the years to come; and so—in order, if possible, to encourage the good work—I sat down and wrote the story, just as I am telling you, to the head of the firm. In return, I received a surprised and delighted letter, stating that to have any one express appreciation for good service was so rare as to be "an unbelievably happy incident."

Thus far, in my communication with The Tribune, unfortunately I seem to have started off on the other track. Such of my letters as you have received have been, I fear, critical. Since this is Christmas time, it may not be altogether amiss, as it is certainly sincere, to send a word of appreciation for all the stimulus and delight and often inspiration which The Tribune has given me during the last few years.

Strongly as I disagree with your bitter attacks on Woodrow Wilson, I would be poor spirited indeed if I could not appreciate the wealth of wise and interesting articles and editorials which The Tribune provides; and more especially the entertainment supplied by those inimitable "Three Musketeers"—Ding, Briggs and Grantland Rice.

So far as Woodrow Wilson is concerned, most of my personal friends feel toward him just as The Tribune does; and this does not alter our friendship very much. It is because I do admire The Tribune that I feel sometimes so keenly at what seem to me its excessive and unwarranted attacks upon Woodrow Wilson, and therefore upon the things he stands for. If they appeared in many other papers I would not bother about them.

To take up the points raised in your editorial: These were really a very subsidiary part of my thought in writing to you. I was concerned about a "news article" on the "anti-treaty and anti-Japanese crusade by Wilson Senators," which still appears to me as a serious piece of misrepresentation, appropriate neither to the standard of The Tribune's news sections nor to the motto at the head of the editorial page.

However, this is your affair. So far as the statement regarding Mr. Wilson's lack of knowledge of the Tumulty articles is concerned, I will

merely state once more that it is a fact.

In regard to the latter part of your editorial, I should like to say that Mr. Wilson is at present a private citizen who is still recuperating from a severe illness acquired in the service of his country. I think that at present he is entitled to a certain degree of privacy and consideration. I have absolutely no knowledge of or connection with Mr. Wilson except as an admiring fellow citizen; but there is a time for everything, and it seems to me that whatever solace there may be in rest and relief from responsibility and, above all, from strife and controversy might well be wished him, for some time to come, by friend and foe alike.

JOHN CROSBY BROWN.

New York, Dec. 27, 1921.

Signing "For Woodrow Wilson"

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I have repeatedly heard it asserted, on what appeared to be good authority, that during Mr. Wilson's long illness in the White House state papers came into the departments signed "Edith Bolling Wilson for Woodrow Wilson." Recently I was informed in Washington that this had not been denied by the then head of a department who was questioned on the subject.

Can you tell me whether these statements are true, and, if they are, what would be the status of Mrs. Wilson if she thus usurped the prerogatives of the President of the United States, and should the question of the legality of state documents thus signed be raised, how would it affect the matters with which these documents are concerned?

FRANCES T. STOCKWELL.

New York, Dec. 27, 1921.

The Cruising Taxicab

To the Editor of The Tribune.